

1.941
R5M38

April 1945

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

THE MASSACHUSETTS HILL TOWNS IN WARTIME 1/

By E. J. Niederfrank, Social Science Analyst

Contents

Summary	1
Introduction	3
Purposes of the study	3
Where, when, and how the study was made	4
General description of communities studied	4
Participation in War Programs	6
Kinds of activities and how they came to people	6
Participation of people in war activities	14
War programs and community organization	16
Effects of the War upon the Hill Towns	17
On population	17
On the economy	18
On locality contacts for services	19
On formal and informal associations	19
On local organizations and institutions	20
On the community as a whole	21
What of the Future?--The Hill Towns in Process	22
Population	23
Economy and community	24

SUMMARY

This is a study of how five hill towns (townships) in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, participated in war-related programs and what other effects the war has had upon them.

1/ Acknowledgments: This study was carried on under the general direction of Douglas Ensminger, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Dortha Mount Barbour and Lois Stevens McVoy assisted in collecting the data from sample families. Theodosia M. Kinney made the statistical tabulations. Special acknowledgment of cooperation is due to A. S. Leland and Sally Gibson, Hampshire County Extension agents, and to the many local people in the area who so cordially supplied information.

JUL 24 1945

(1) A variety of war programs have come to hill town people, including air-raid protection, aircraft observation, first-aid and home-nursing instruction, Red Cross sewing, blood donation, salvage collection, and post-war planning. They were brought to communities by several non-local agencies, in more or less uncoordinated fashion and not always with regard to local conditions or organizations.

(2) War-related activities were presented, and organized locally, on the town basis, since the town is the basis of local social organization generally throughout New England. But some programs might perhaps have reached people more effectively in some towns if small hamlet communities or neighborhoods had been given closer consideration.

(3) Locally, programs were handled on the "individual" basis by leaders selected by nonlocal agencies and local officials; they in turn appointed their assistants. With the exception of some salvage drives, and the Army aircraft observation program sponsored by the Legion-Auxilliary, local organizations had little part in carrying war-related activities to local people, and no coordination of local groups or development of a community defense council was attempted in any of the towns studied.

(4) One or more members in nearly 75 percent of the sample families selected at random, participated in one or more salvage drives, some member of about half of the families took part in defense and similar programs that called for service, and 25 percent of the families had a representative in Red Cross sewing, and in first-aid and home-nursing classes. Nearly all the people knew about most of the programs through information from a newspaper, the telephone, hearsay, or announcement at meetings of local groups. Age, health, travel restrictions, and their own work limited participation of some.

(5) Loss of population as an effect of the war on the community is especially noticeable. About 11 percent are in the armed services and 7 percent have moved to war work elsewhere. Not many households left their communities--mainly family heads and single individuals.

(6) Economic effects of the war have related principally to the family economy, including labor shortages, scarcity of some rationed goods, increase in number who commute to work in surrounding cities, decrease in the summer recreation business, and increase in some incomes. No change has occurred in the basic economy of the hill towns, and on farms the traditional family work pattern is unchanged, although most farmers have depended more than usual on family labor and have worked harder themselves.

(7) Travel restrictions have considerably reduced participation in local activities and in commercial recreation, shopping, and family visiting in surrounding places. Trade at local village stores has increased slightly, and recreation is somewhat more within the family and the community. However, the neighborhood as a social group, is no more important in the hill towns than before, but it might come back should wartime conditions continue 2 or 3 more years.

(8) The Grange, Legion, women's groups, and other local organizations have had attendances reduced 25 to 30 percent, have fewer regular meetings, and have altered activities and programs to meet wartime conditions, but no organization has ceased to function on account of the war. The churches are the least affected. The schools have had some part in war stamp, salvage, and first-aid programs, have slightly lower enrollments and have had considerable difficulty in finding teachers.

(9) It is more difficult to find local leaders for activities, because of losses of population and travel restrictions, and because people are more busy. The war programs did not turn up new local leadership, as most of the responsibilities fell to the usual local workers.

(10) On the whole, the surface effects of the war on the hill towns has been slight and local life appears about as usual. But nearly every phase of the community has really felt the war as have most hill town families.

(11) Apparently the hill towns, already affected by far-reaching trends during the last century, will have 12 to 15 percent less population in the future than before the war, unless tendencies are offset by a slight back-to-the-land movement and by making economic and social life in the hill towns more attractive to young people.

(12) The community has remained relatively well integrated throughout its history, but to check the effects of the war and other current trends will call for foresighted leadership, more cooperation within and between towns, and coordinated community-wide action on the part of local organizations, town government, and leaders.

INTRODUCTION

Purposes of the Study

When hostilities in Europe were becoming intense during 1940, communities in States along the eastern seaboard began organizing themselves for defense against possible enemy attack. After Pearl Harbor governments and other agencies throughout the Nation promoted programs through which the home front could take part in the prosecution of the war. Rural families were called upon to increase production, to share their manpower with the armed forces, and to make other wartime adjustments.

The purpose of the study here reported was to learn the effect of war upon the rural hill towns in western New England; particularly to find out how and to what extent families and communities have participated in war activities and to see what effects the war was having upon local community life. Participation in post-war programs is also considered in this report, and the final section deals with the community in transition, looking to the years ahead.

Complete analysis of all this is impossible in this brief publication, but a general picture of the methods used in handling war programs,

and of the general effects of the war upon the community, may interest rural sociologists, extension workers, ministers, educators, administrators of agricultural programs, social workers, and other rural leaders. This is especially true since there has been a tendency during the last quarter century for nonlocal agencies to play a greater role on the local level, and since changes brought about by the war and other current trends may have considerable influence upon the future course of small rural communities throughout the Northeast.

Where, When, and How the Study was Made

The material presented here was obtained from intensive study of an area comprising five townships in the hill country of Hampshire County in western Massachusetts (figure 1). This area lies west of the Connecticut River Valley in the rolling upland or foothills of the Berkshire Mountain range. The townships studied were Chesterfield, Cummington, Goshen, Plainfield, and Worthington. Table 1 shows that these towns in important respects are representative of the surrounding hill country. This is corroborated by the observations of State and local leaders familiar with New England, and by other studies.

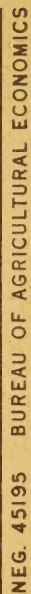
Field work was carried on at times during 1944. Data were collected by a schedule survey of a 25-percent random sample of families in the area, and by interviews with local and regional leaders of war programs, township officials, ministers, teachers, officers of local organizations, and other local leaders. The writer lived in the area about 3 months during the study.

Table 1. -- The five towns studied compared with all (48) towns under 1,000 population in western Massachusetts

Item	: Western : : Mass. :	: Five towns : : studied :
Percent change in population 1930-40	: +1.1 :	: +0.6 :
Population per square mile	: 15.5 :	: 16.3 :
Percent population living on farms	: 55.0 :	: 57.9 :
" total population under 15 years	: 24.3 :	: 24.0 :
" " " over 55 years	: 22.5 :	: 23.2 :
Average size of farms (acres)	: 132.0 :	: 151.9 :
Percent of total land area in crops and hay	: 8.1 :	: 9.7 :
Value of farm real estate per acre	: \$35.24 :	: \$24.84 :
Percent of tenancy (farm and nonfarm)	: 19.2 :	: 17.5 :
Value of nonfarm monthly rent	: \$18.65 :	: \$15.60 :

General Description of Communities Studied

Townships in New England are known as "towns", and throughout this report the term "town" is used in this sense. The hill towns studied are small, ranging from 250 to 600 in population, like many others in this region. About 45 percent of the people in the area studied live in small villages and hamlets, and 55 percent in the open country. But only about



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

two-thirds of the open country families obtain the major part of their cash income from farming. Nonfarm employment of village and country people consists of local work in saw mills and other industries, and commercial firms, or on the roads and in the woods, and not a few commute to surrounding cities. The number of farms and industries has declined considerably during the last 75 years, and populations of the rural hill towns are less than half what they were in 1860. Recreation trade, especially summer-home residents and guests, now plays an important part in the local economy and community life of the hill country.

The majority of the local people in the towns studied are of Yankee stock, and are Congregationalists. Every town has its key families who have lived there a long time. These and their relatives generally have the "highest" status. Families are relatively strongly integrated since they are some distance from the diversified urban life of cities.

Every township has a "center village", at which are located the town hall, centralized elementary school, Grange hall, church, and often a general combination of store, filling-station, and post office. Most of the people get a good deal of their groceries, clothing, commercial recreation, and other services at surrounding cities--within a radius of 15 to 25 miles and ranging from 10,000 to 50,000 in population, such as Northampton and Pittsfield. Young people in the area also go to larger villages and cities for secondary education, since many rural hill towns do not have high schools.

But these hill town communities are well integrated by their strongly organized local town government, the local church, the Grange, women's societies, and other local organizations. The church and all local organizations and activities are on a town basis; that is, they consider the town or township as their territory, with the exception of such organizations as the American Legion, the Grange, and the Agricultural Fair Society--each of which includes several contiguous townships.

Local community life revolves around the activities of the local church, the Grange, Legion, elementary school, and such events as the intertown agricultural fair, town meeting, community Christmas tree, and Memorial Day exercises. People are strongly attached to the towns in which they live, since most of their community and group life is within their local town. Thus, they generally consider the town (township), or sometimes a smaller hamlet-centered area within it, as the "community."

PARTICIPATION IN WAR PROGRAMS

Kinds of Wartime Activities and How They Came to the People

A variety of war-related programs were brought to hill town communities and families, by a variety of nonlocal agencies (table 2). Some of the methods and problems of these activities as they worked out in the hill towns are briefly described here.

(1) The protection or defense mobilization program was the leading wartime activity during the first year after Pearl Harbor, because it

Table 2. -- War-related activities in Hampshire hill towns and agencies or individuals handling them

War-time activity or program	Nearest nonlocal leadership	Local community leadership
Air-raid protection--warning, fire control, etc.	:Mass. Committee on Public Safety, district heads and controllers	:Township chairman MCPS appointed by regional director and town government
Aircraft observation	:U.S. Army and district American Legion	:Commander of local intertown Legion
Scrap salvage drives	:MCPS-regional and district salvage chairmen	:Post
First-aid instruction	:MCPS and County Red Cross	:Township salvage chairman and cooperating local organizations
Home-nursing instruction	:County Red Cross	:Township Red Cross chairman or nurse
Red Cross sewing, etc.	:County Red Cross	:Township Red Cross chairman, local organizations
Blood donation	:County Red Cross	:Township chairman Red Cross
War Bonds and other funds	:District or county chairmen	:Town chairmen appointed by nonlocal campaign directors
War-time agricultural programs, farm labor, etc.	:County Extension Service County War Board headed by County AAA chairman	:Intertown AAA chairmen or committee-men
War-time homemakers' programs	:County Extension Service	:Township chairman, women's extension group
Selective Service	:Intertown Selective Service Boards	:None
Truck and transportation conservation	:District offices, ODT	:None
War-time rationing--food, gasoline, tires	:State OPA	:Township ration board and secretary
Post-war planning	:Extension Service, Selective Ser. & other State and county agencies	:Some programs have local chairmen, others not
Service Club	:None, locally initiated only	:Locally appointed committee

included so many phases new to rural communities and required so many local people. This program was brought to local communities by the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety, 2/ through town government officials who appointed a town MCPS or defense chairman. Each one was instructed to set up a disaster-protection organization, including such officers and committees as police chief and staff, health officer and aids, fire chief and assistants, air-raid wardens, demolition squads, transportation officers to route traffic around war plants, etc., air-raid shelter committee, women's community service committee to handle refugees from cities, motor corp, messengers, and playground coordinator. A comprehensive manual of instructions was provided.

Defense chairmen in all of the towns studied handled the program through personally selected leaders and committees, using local organizations only for a few announcements. One of the principal problems was difficulty in getting responsible leaders and helpers to serve, and to sustain interest. Generally, local persons accepted when asked because of their friendship with the chairman or others who asked them--they did it for him rather than for a community-defined program. "It took a lot of hunting and coaxing to get the many local helpers required and some had to serve in several capacities at the same time", was the common report of defense chairmen. "Interest ran high after Pearl Harbor." "In fact, it gave our quiet town new life for awhile. But after the first few practice blackouts interest began to lag, and within a few months local defense staffs dwindled to a few key families who had to carry most of the responsibilities."

Local situations were sometimes aggravated by some State and regional officials of the program who overlooked or did not understand rural conditions. They generally considered that the town should be the unit of administration and participation for the defense program, regardless of smaller hamlet communities that may have been within some townships. 3/ The township was generally treated like a city, and town chairmen were likely to be criticized if they did not apply the program to open country homes, which seemed foolish to some local people and difficult to do. "Some State officials showed a lack of understanding of our hills and snow drifts," said several town chairmen in effect, "when they came out to rural areas in the winter without an overcoat and suggested that we use boy messengers on bicycles to reach country homes." All in all, the elaborate organization and supervision suggested by the State, although practicable for cities and well-defined village communities, simply was too difficult to operate in the rural hill towns and often seemed unwise to local people.

2/ Massachusetts set up this agency many years ago to serve in times of emergency, and during World War II it has handled most of the activities which elsewhere were generally sponsored by the Office of Civilian Defense.

3/ In some other areas observations indicated that effective operation of the air-raid and other civilian war programs was also hampered by use of the town as the local unit of administration where there were differences in telephone exchanges, mail centers, nationality groupings, and the like.

State and regional staffs apparently gave virtually all their attention to the technical phases of the defense program, such as instructions for setting up the warning system and extinguishing incendiary fires, urging organization according to the manual, and checking town results. On the other hand, defense chairmen were given little or no technical assistance in the skills of community organization--how to organize local people and marshall their interest and leadership effectively.

Generally the defense program was operated on more or less an individual basis, although all towns held one or more public meetings and in some the defense staffs held numerous gatherings to work out plans democratically. It appeared from the survey that, on the whole, best cooperation of local people and smoothest operation were obtained where townspeople and local civilian defense staffs were best informed and their activities best coordinated.

(2) The air-craft observation program was brought to communities by the Army Defense Command through local American Legion Posts which were given the responsibility of establishing air-craft observation posts in strategic places, and of organizing the manning of the posts 24 hours a day.

Two observation posts were set up in the area studied for the Cummington post. Enlistment of observers was on an individual basis rather than through other local organizations. As the Cummington Legion-Auxilliary is an inter-town organization, it had to divide its observers between the two observation posts in its territory. It did its best to keep them regularly manned, and several dependable people endured considerable inconvenience and hardship during the winter to keep their weekly virgil. But after a few months the restrictions on gas and tires, increasing weariness and indifference of local people, and the lessening of the possibility of enemy air attack, made manning the posts more difficult. By the end of the first year, most of the airplane spotting was being done by the key families who lived at or near the observation posts.

About 25 percent of the village families, and more than 60 percent of those in the country took part in the aircraft-observation program to some extent, including many women. But not more than one-sixth of them did so regularly, because of distances, long hours per shift on the post, business of the people, indifference, and to the rather critical attitude of the Legion which seemed to exist in one or two of the five towns.

Evidently a creditable job was done, and leading volunteers were later awarded medals by the Army and Office of Civilian Defense for services rendered. In some towns this was criticized locally, as many other local people had given untiring volunteer service to other war activities without receiving similar recognition. This may suggest the desirability of having understanding and coordination between the nonlocal agencies who are serving the same communities on related programs.

(3) The salvage program was brought to communities by State and regional leaders of the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety who appointed a salvage chairman in each town, generally with the assistance

of the town MCPS chairman or some local friend. The early scrap drives were more or less State wide, and were put on with the usual radio and newspaper publicity emanating from the cities. Locally they were managed by the town salvage chairmen.

Interest in the scrap-metal and rubber salvage campaigns lagged when the salvage lay in the town scrap heaps for several months. The details of the scrap drives had not been presented to local communities by regional leaders, follow-through arrangements did not work, local people wondered more and more, and were critical of "the Government" which seems to be their stereotype term for outside agencies.

But now "there is money" in most salvage collections and this has encouraged local groups to "sponsor a salvage drive." In every town studied one or more local groups as an organization have sponsored one or more salvage drives, depending on the interest and initiative of the salvage chairmen and of local groups.

The success of local groups has varied. Some organizations try to sponsor a drive, then fail to reach the community effectively, or to follow through, leaving the work to be completed by a few overworked leaders or to the town salvage chairman. Other local organizations have been more successful; where apparently community spirit was more developed and where leaders represented different communities in the township.

In some towns questions were raised as to how to divide the proceeds among cooperative groups or between an organization and the town government, since a town highway truck sometimes collects the salvage.

When 4-H Club sponsored salvage drives, they found that the administrative areas of the Massachusetts Public Safety Committee crossed county lines, whereas 4-H extension is on the county basis; this brought some debate in some towns as to which MPSC region and which county 4-H Club should ship out the collected salvage, who should receive the credit, etc.

"Salvage collection in the hill towns has been somewhat disappointing compared with what it might have been with proper and effective organization of the program on the local level," say regional directors in substance. However, communities were given little assistance by State and regional staffs in achieving more effective local organization. Nevertheless, the survey indicated that about 60 percent of the village families and 80 percent of those in the open country had taken part to some extent in one or more of the drives. But local leaders estimated that, on the whole, probably not more than one-third of all local families actually know about any particular drive "until the collecting truck sponsored by the town chairman or some local group stops at the dooryard." Some towns do better than others, depending upon the interest of local leaders, community spirit and responsibility, and on how well leaders and local organizations work together to inform and organize the town.

(4) The first-aid and home-nursing programs were brought to communities by the County Red Cross, through the regular town Red Cross

chairman. The local chairman either taught these subjects or selected persons in the community qualified to do so, and left the organization of the classes to them. Local groups and churches in most of the five towns carried announcements of these courses occasionally as did the local columns of city daily papers which serve the area.

There was some variation in the success of these Red Cross programs as between towns. Some towns continued their interest in the courses, and have organized classes for young people. In other towns apparently little is done. Greatest interest and participation was found in those towns in which the local Red Cross chairman was an active community leader, where local organizations were used for announcements and sponsorship, and where there is the most cooperative and community spirit among the people. In one or two of the towns studied the town defense chairman stepped in to lead in organizing first-aid work for the defense program, when the local Red Cross chairman selected by the county Red Cross proved to be indifferent or ineffective.

(5) The Red Cross surgical-dressing and sewing program is generally brought to local people by the town Red Cross chairmen. In the beginning the surgical-dressing work was not generally presented to the hill towns by the county Red Cross because of certain specific requirements as to facilities, skill, and transportation of raw materials and finished products, which seemed to make it impracticable for the hill towns. But in one or two of the towns several women worked on hospital sewing and similar Red Cross work either in small groups or individually in their homes. In some cases this interest was initiated and the program kept going by local Red Cross chairmen who happened to be active community leaders.

Some effort was made here and there to start a Red Cross sewing group in a rural neighborhood, for those who found it inconvenient to go to the village, but these generally "fell through" because sustained local interest was lacking for various reasons. Generally, the country women selected to lead were already burdened with other community activities. But during 1944 interest in the surgical-dressing program increased; in three of these towns one or more small groups of women now meet weekly for this work. In Goshen, the Reading Group of the Women's Club now devotes most of its meetings to surgical dressings, interest was initiated largely within the group. In general, however, the local organizations have not incorporated this work into their regular activities. Greater activity waits principally upon more alert local leadership, which in turn waits upon encouragement and assistance in organization from the county level. It was found that generally the Red Cross women's activities are on a town basis, which means that those who live in hamlet communities several miles from the center village find it difficult to take part or are somewhat left out.

The Red Cross sponsored the blood-donation program through the town Red Cross chairmen; only a few people in the hill towns have been able to donate because of inconveniences of reaching the blood-donor centers at surrounding cities, or to sickness, age and work.

(6) War bond campaigns and other special wartime drives for funds are found in all the hill towns. They are organized on the town basis, under a town chairman appointed by suggestion or local prominence by some county or regional leader whom he seldom if ever sees. In one town the war bond chairman did not know he had been selected until 6 months afterward.

Regional campaign directors usually urged hill town chairmen to conduct special campaigns in "city style", but most of the local chairmen rejected this as impracticable. Regional leaders apparently did not assist local chairmen to organize under local conditions, and in some cases gave little attention to results or to communications. In general, war bond campaigns in the hill towns were limited to designation of the post office as the sales point, announcing specific drives at meetings of local organizations, and to cooperation with the schools on war-stamp sales. All the towns studied have usually reached their quotas, and it is estimated by local leaders that 9 out of 10 of these families have bought war bonds.

Other financial drives such as the National War Fund, American Red Cross Fund, and relief drives are generally conducted on the "individual leadership" basis rather than through an organized community. The local chairman selects several workers whose names are announced in the paper or at local meetings. Personal calls are made and unsolicited contributions are received. Local organizations usually vote to contribute certain sums. Town quotas are nearly always reached.

In Chesterfield, the local church usually cooperates on the Red Cross drive by dedicating a Sunday service to it, perhaps with a special program. This has proved to be an excellent method here. It helps the church to serve as a community institution, and it helps to identify the Red Cross Fund as a community program and to unite the people on it.

(7) Wartime agricultural programs as they applied to the hill towns were operated on strictly a county basis through the county AAA, War Board, and Extension Service. They were brought directly to individual families from the county level by newsletters, newspaper announcements, individual contacts by county leaders and local committeemen, and by county meetings. There are no local agricultural organizations in the hill towns since commercial farming is not very important, although they are covered by loosely organized intertown AAA groups. No new local organizations were started for getting agricultural war programs to farm people. Farmers make individual contacts, generally at the county seat, for matters connected with production goals, machinery rationing, gas rationing, selective service, and farm labor.

Wartime Homemakers' programs on the other hand were brought to local people as part of the regular home extension program, usually from the county level, through regular town home-extension groups and other local cooperating organizations. In general, it has been difficult during wartime to hold meetings and the survey showed that attendance was somewhat reduced due to travel restrictions and heavier home work. No new methods were attempted, except for the so called "neighborhood leadership" plan.

This was set up but did not generally function in the hill towns to any real extent in either home or agricultural extension, except for the distribution of certain printed materials during the first few months.

(8) The Service Club or Community Recognition of Local Men is a wartime program that originated locally. Where or when the first service club was organized no one seems to know, but today every hill town has such a club or committee. Through it the town recognizes its departing servicemen with gifts or other attention. It usually sponsors an honor roll, assembles Christmas gifts, perhaps sends local newspapers or letters to their young men and women who are in the service, sponsors other activities for their benefit.

The service club is a community (township) committee. Two forms were found among the five towns studied: (a) In some it consists of local individuals selected without reference to group or community residence, by some leader who started the movement in the community; (b) in other towns it consists of one or more representatives from different local organizations--this seems to be the more effective method.

In either type the service clubs or committees do the work and make the decisions. Local organizations and institutions contribute money for gifts, make announcements about the community gift box, contribute to the purchase of the honor roll, and the like.

(9) Post-war planning program. In each town a post-war planning committee was appointed by the town officials at the request of the State soon after the United States entered the war. Its function is presumably to outline post-war employment projects in the community. Some of the committees have given attention to this problem; in other towns nothing has yet been done.

Recently the Selective Service asked the town governments to designate some local person in each town as a rehabilitation chairman; he is to serve as a point of local contact or advisory center for the returning servicemen. These chairmen were immediately besieged with circulars and letters from innumerable agencies all of whom have some service to offer. In some towns these chairmen are doing their best to assemble information, inform themselves, and inform the community. In other towns nothing has been done, and local people are completely unaware of the position.

An Advisory Committee has been set up on the county level by the Extension Service in cooperation with the Veterans Administration, Employment Service, AAA, Farm Security Administration, and other agencies. It has assembled certain agricultural information and acts more or less as a clearing house for both the servicemen and the war workers. As yet it is not coordinated with any groups on the community level.

In addition, the Extension Service and other agencies on the State and county levels are concerned with agricultural planning, land settlement, marketing, health, and other postwar problems as part of their regular programs.

The Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with the National Committee for Economic Development in Northampton and surrounding cities has given considerable attention to post-war planning. But these groups generally confine their activities to their city, disregarding the fact that it is related both socially and economically to surrounding rural communities.

As yet (winter 1944-45) none of these post-war set-ups are coordinated with any community groups and only few local people are generally aware of them or know where to find information concerning them. In general, the worth and effectiveness of post-war programs will probably be in proportion to the way and the extent to which they finally reach communities and local people. Generally people in the hill towns are not the kind who readily accept things that are not of immediate concern, and neither the returning servicemen or war workers will want to be sent from one place to another for assistance, therefore good leadership on the State and county levels of post-war planning programs is all the more essential.

Participation of People in War-Related Activities

The war programs did reach rural people and many generously participated in them, in spite of difficulties that leaders encountered (table 3). Some of these programs, such as air-raid protection, called for only leadership and service, not general participation; other programs not listed, such as rationing, are not voluntary or, like the agricultural programs, do not apply to all the families studied.

Table 3. -- Percent of families who participated in various war-related programs

War program	:All five: Three towns compared			
	: towns	: Chesterfield:	Cummington:	Worthington
Air-raid protection	: 47.0	: 59.3	: 16.2	: 65.8
Aircraft observation	: 53.8	: 77.8	: 32.4	: 44.0
Scrap salvage	: 73.5	: 81.5	: 48.6	: 81.7
First-aid classes	: 32.5	: 29.6	: 24.3	: 33.3
Home-nursing classes	: 21.4	: 33.3	: 13.5	: 29.2
Red Cross sewing, etc.	: 12.8	: 13.0	: 13.5	: 29.2
Blood bank	: 9.4	: 7.4	: 5.4	: 12.5
War bonds <u>1/</u>	: 80-90	: -	: -	: -
	: :	: :	: :	: :

1/ Estimated by local leaders.

It was found that at least 9 out of 10 families in the hill towns studied knew that these war activities were being carried on in their community. Chief sources of information included the local column of the regional daily newspaper, telephone, announcement at meetings of local organizations, and general hearsay.

The low proportion who took part in the Red Cross surgical-dressing and sewing programs as shown in this table does not reflect the recently increased interest in most towns. Nearly a third of the families

in the hill towns received first-aid instructions and in two or three of the towns studied classes are still being organized. Nearly three-fourths of the families were reached by at least one of the salvage drives, and half gave some service on the aircraft observation posts and air-raid protection programs.

There was some difference between towns as to the proportion of families who participate in various programs (table 3). Goshen and Plainfield are not included in the comparison because of the fewer records taken in them. To a certain extent these figures reflect differences in the usual activity of local organizations, in the time and individual energy that certain leaders may have had to offer, and in community spirit and cooperativeness of the people. Comparable proportions of families who were participating in Worthington are due largely to the hard work of a few leaders working as individuals. The lower proportions participating in Cummington are due to the indifference of some leaders, overwork on the part of others, more sharply defined personal and status feelings here, and to the fact that the hamlet community of West Cummington is somewhat apart from the center village community both in attitude and in convenience. Then too, Cummington center village is larger than that of the other towns studied and this probably caused local leaders of some programs to inadvertently overlook the open country homes.

More country families took part in some voluntary war programs than those from the village, while in others all families participated about the same (table 4). This indicates that in the five towns as a whole the programs did reach country people. Also, in every town some of the leaders were country people. Country families may have had slightly more gas available for transportation. On the salvage drives it may be easier for country families to find certain kinds to contribute. The data give no indication of the sustained interest. Thus, while a smaller proportion of village families took part in these programs, they may have done so more regularly, while the greater number of country families may have taken part only once or twice.

Table 4. -- Participation of village and country families in war-related programs

War program	Percent	
	Village	Country
Air-raid protection	46.0	47.8
Aircraft observation	24.0	62.7
Scrap salvage	61.0	82.1
First-aid classes	28.0	35.8
Home-nursing classes	16.0	25.4
Red Cross surgical dressing	12.0	13.4
Blood bank	12.0	7.5

War Programs and Applied Community Organization

This part of the report brings together features of hill town participation in civilian wartime activities which illustrate some of the practical principles of community organization and work with rural people.

(1) A host of activities were suddenly brought to the local community by several nonlocal agencies, all trying to obtain the active support of a majority of the people. This meant that local people were suddenly brought face to face with more new or different nonlocal agencies and officials, or familiar ones doing different things, than they ever dealt with before.

Among these new agencies were three: (a) The Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety carried the air-raid protection and salvage programs; (b) The County War Board composed of several already familiar county agricultural agencies, and contacts were made with familiar individuals such as the County Agent. But when acting as or in behalf of the War Board these familiar organizations or individuals are engaged in new activities and they were acting in a new role for a new organization which also was set up to handle new tasks and problems; (c) The OPA town ration boards affect all local people bringing them into a new and different relationship with local leaders or acquaintances than they normally have with these same individuals.

In addition, some wartime activities were brought to the community through familiar nonlocal organizations which had some semblance of a familiar local set-up. The most important are the county Red Cross and the county Extension Service.

Such changes as all these require that more than usual attention be given to keeping local people well informed, if new programs and agencies are to be successful.

(2) These new agencies and activities all demanded local leadership and new and strange duties and action. This meant definition of new ends--ends common to all--and substitution of cooperation and unity in place of petty jealousies and individual beliefs and actions.

(3) Activities were not community defined. In the Hampshire hill towns it was found that communities generally were not led to their own definition of these new activities and ends. Little or no advance educational work or explanation of "why and wherefore" preceded the outset of organization, whereas under such circumstances wholehearted cooperation and participation is seldom forthcoming, for they rest upon understanding. With rural people this principle generally applies not only to wartime affairs but to any kind of nonlocal organization, be it the Extension Service, public welfare, public education, district church organization, or other nonlocal group.

All nonlocal agencies which go to communities and families with specific plans or activities have two major responsibilities: to help them to self-define the problem or program in order that they can understand

it and accept it as their own; to assist local leaders in the technical phases, not merely of the activities themselves, but also of community organization and methods of working with people.

(4) The tendency to draw upon the same people to lead different activities was apparent. When leaders are overly used, it reduces their effectiveness; and stifles the cultivation of new leaders.

(5) Community coordination may have been advisable--little use was made of existing local organizations in carrying civilian defense programs to the local families, or of the formation of a community council of some sort composed of representatives of local organizations and localities. An axiom for working with people is to consider how they are already organized and then adapt the methods to this. Apparently the war programs "went over" fairly successfully in the hill towns studied. But most of them could probably have been handled easier if greater coordination or a council of local groups existed, or had been organized, in each town or community for sponsoring the new programs and managing them in a general way. Such coordination enables communities in peace or in wartime, to analyze themselves; to define programs or local problems for themselves and make them their own; to cultivate local leadership; to attain the interest and support of all groups and to work out plans for reaching all the people; and to appraise results as a community. Such an arrangement makes it possible for local groups, generally interested in their own specialized activities, to participate in community-wide action on matters which apply or are of concern to the whole community in war or in peacetime.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON THE HILL TOWNS

It was found that as the hill towns are small and have a relatively simple socio-economy their community life so far has been only comparatively little affected by the war. But nearly every phase of local life has been affected somewhat.

On Population

The most noteworthy effect of the war on the area studied is the sharp decline in local population since 1940, caused principally by young people going into the armed services and by a slight migration to war-production centers. Nearly 11 percent of the area's 1940 population are in the armed services, and the net migration of others is estimated at about 7 percent. ^{3/} Worthington town has lost the most, whereas the population in Goshen has gained slightly.

The net loss of households to war centers has been small, for most are within commuting distance to war work in industrial cities. Most of

^{3/} Migration estimated by comparing the 1940 population plus births and minus deaths, with the November 1943 ration-book registration plus the number in the armed forces.

those now away went as single individuals, and were in the younger age groups. Thus communities have had to depend upon the older people to lead and take part in local affairs. A slight sex imbalance has also been a result, but many young women have also left--a few to the armed forces.

On the Economy

In general, the effects on economic life have been slight. No change has occurred in the basic economy of the hill towns--no major agricultural changes, no sudden development of a war factory or military camp, no mushroom growth in local industries, and no shrinkage to ghost towns.

It is on the families that the war has had its principal economic effects. Full-time farmers, especially the few large-scale operators, have increased the size of some farm enterprises and decreased others. There has been a 6-percent reduction in the number of families who farm as a chief source of income. About another 5 percent who farmed on a small scale have reduced their farming and taken work in the war industries of surrounding cities. Several who formerly worked in the home town have gone into factories. According to the survey, 20 percent of the families in the hill towns now have one or more members who commute to war work, weekly or daily--about twice as many as before the war. Most are men, but a few are women or high-school boys.

War has brought a shortage of local labor. Farmers must rely more on their families and work much harder themselves, as do those who operate local mills, trucking concerns, and other enterprises. The shortage is especially noticed by the summer residents and the guest or tourist homes who ordinarily hire local workers. But the traditional family farm and home-work pattern is mostly unchanged.

Gross incomes are higher on the average especially of those in war industrial work who before were mainly dependent on local earnings. According to the survey, 45 percent of the families in the Hampshire hill towns have had higher incomes during the past year, the average increase being 62 percent over their incomes in 1940. On farms net incomes are generally higher, but farm feed supplies and other materials have been very short at times and necessitated careful handling of herds and flocks. This was one reason a few small-scale farmers reduced their farming and went into war work.

Families have been affected by higher prices for consumers' goods and by certain scarcities, but these do not affect the hill town families as much as they do urban families, as rural families more easily produce more of their own food. This is emphasized by the fact that home-food-production campaigns did not change the home plans in the hill towns. Less than 5 percent of the random families surveyed were producing more meat and vegetables at home in 1943 than in 1940, because so many ordinarily produce much of their food supply anyway.

Some village stores had somewhat larger trade in 1944 than before the war, because gas and tire restrictions limited travel to surrounding cities, but their sales were held below what they might have been by

wartime shortages of some items.

One local doctor and two located in nearby towns who served this area, moved away or were in the military services. The only other changes in services available in the five towns are the loss of one small store, one garage, and two or three combination filling stations and lunch rooms.

These effects have been considerable for some families, but not for the majority, and no major changes have occurred in the basic economy of the hill towns nor in the traditional family farm and home ways.

On Locality Contacts for Services

Wartime restrictions necessitated changes in the travel patterns of most of the families in the hill towns. They were dependent on their automobiles for much service and pleasure, and an "A" gas book does not go so far in the rural hill-country as it does in the city.

According to the family survey, about 30 percent of the families in the Hampshire hill towns are buying an average of 42 percent more groceries in their local villages than before the war. Only a few are tied to local villages; many still do most of their shopping and get other commercial services in surrounding cities, but they are making fewer trips, sharing rides with friends and relatives, and putting up with other inconveniences. Farmers are not quite so restricted as others in using their automobiles but they are planning carefully the use of cars and trucks for marketing and shopping.

It is clear that the war is not making the local village the trade-service center of hill-town communities--it has not been for many years. Moreover, most of the travel changes brought about by the war are not expected to be permanent.

On Formal and Informal Associations

Restrictions on travel are probably felt most concretely by people in the hill towns. According to the family survey, about 65 percent of the country families participated in their local organizations "less" during 1943-44 than before the war; most of the village families participated "the same", no families are participating "more." During part of the year covered by the study auto travel was extremely restricted for about 3 months; it is less restricted now but a majority of country families still find it necessary to do less in local affairs.

In addition, more than 75 percent of the families reported that they visited or were visited by relatives and friends much less frequently during 1943-44, especially by those who live, say, 20 or more miles away. Some visiting contacts have been completely postponed for the duration. Other informal associations--attending fairs, dances, out-of-town movies and local family supper get-togethers, have been fewer during the last year than before the war.

Nevertheless, a considerable number manage to maintain some contacts with the community. More local contacts have sprung up to offer recreation. In some communities, one or more organizations have sponsored dances attractive to young and old alike. Some of the Granges have made special effort to pep up activities. Through planned use of automobiles and family activities a sizeable proportion have taken part in local activities to about the same extent as before.

At the outset it was thought that perhaps wartime conditions might bring back the old neighborhood as a social group in the open country, but this was found not to be true. In general, families are visiting nearby neighbors only little or not significantly more than before the war. They maintain what town and inter-town contacts they can, and stay home more. There has been only little increase in nearby exchange of work and other "neighboring." The neighborhood as a social group is not reappearing. The town-community has been strengthened by the war, but as yet not the neighborhood.

On Local Organizations and Institutions

(1) Reduced family participation of course means smaller meetings of local groups. Attendances are also less than otherwise because of loss of population. As churches and local organizations in the hill towns are small under normal conditions the reductions during wartime has made it doubly difficult for them to carry on. Meetings of inter-town organizations such as the Pomona Grange, Highland Club, American Legion and "neighbor-nights" of local Granges, have been particularly reduced because of the greater distances involved (table 5). Reduced attendances reduce the activities, which in turn further discourages attendance. Interest in Extension Homemakers programs have held up well; 4-H Club work has somewhat turned to elementary school children in the hill towns for increased Victory membership, and to school teachers for local leaders. Sunday church services seem to have been most effected. Reduced participation has made it difficult for all organizations to find people who are willing to take leadership responsibilities.

Table 5. -- Estimated changes in attendance and number of meetings from 1940 to 1943 (for the five towns studied) 1/

Organization or activity	Percent change in	
	Attendance	Number of meetings
Church Worship Services	: -10 to 15:	No change
Benevolent Societies	: -25 to 35:	-40
Grange	: -20 to 30:	-20 to 30
Women's Extension	: -15 to 20:	No change
Other local women's groups	: -35 to 45:	-25 to 35
Pomona Grange	: -40 to 50:	-40
American Legion Auxilliary	: -35 to 50:	-15
Highland Club	: -25 :	-50

1/ According to later field observations, local organizations have been generally operating somewhat more normally during 1944-45 than in 1943.

(2) All local organizations have had to alter their activities. Fewer community dinners and suppers are held by the Granges and benevolent societies because of certain food rationing and gas restrictions. These normally are popular summer events of hill town communities. After-meeting refreshments have been eliminated or reduced. The Granges have been affected in nearly every town, since refreshments and suppers ordinarily have a considerable part in many of their meetings. In some places novel ways have been worked out for providing refreshments at certain meetings--the people share in supplying foods, generally from home supplies, and it is reported that this has made for some increase in group unity. Groups which usually have an annual banquet in a nearby city or an annual picnic at some favorite park, have held them at nearby points or eliminated them for the duration.

The subject-matter or program content of local organizations has taken on a wartime flavor to some degree. Sermons, talks, discussions, contests, and other programs deal occasionally with war and post-war matters. Extension Homemakers groups and 4-H clubs have adapted their subject matter to wartime conditions. Finally, nearly all local organizations have taken at least some part in assisting war-related activities in the community and contributed to wartime funds.

(3) Nearly all local organizations reduced the number of regular meetings (table 5), and some changed their winter place of meetings owing to fuel shortages and smaller attendance--meeting in homes or already-heated school houses. But in none of the communities studied had any local organization closed except one intertown fraternal lodge, mainly of young married people,--but that was not entirely because of wartime reasons.

On the Community as a Whole

Certain effects of the war on the community as a whole can be discerned.

(1) War has had a somewhat leveling effect. Full employment and higher incomes have tended to obliterate any economic class distinction or lines that local people may have been conscious of or outwardly expressed during depression and pre-war years. Every employable family can at least have a decent living and dress well enough to appear freely at events. Consumer rationing and the military draft apply to all families. Many took part in certain civilian defense activities and wartime drives. Every family is interested in what is going on in the country and in the outcome of the war. Every town has its honor roll, provided by all local interests working cooperatively through the town service club, and the names of all the town's men and women in the armed forces are on the honor roll regardless of class, creed, or status.

(2) An increase in community-wide action has resulted from wartime conditions and war programs. People have worked together for common community ends and a common desire to serve in the war. But it appears from survey reports and observations that whatever new unity arose may not have been lasting, for no significant results of this kind are manifest today. The wartime activities came too suddenly, in new ways, and were too short-lived to unify the community very much. But the air-raid protection

program left some towns with an emergency warning system and organization that may have value at some future time, and certain patterns or precedents of community-wide action were established which may yield some benefit in later years.

Some different people were called, given responsibility and the neighborhood leadership plan of the Extension Service was set up. Most of the new leaders were used only a short time. "The same old faithful leaders had to carry most of the new burden, as usual"--this was the tenor of the report in every town studied.

(3) The attitudes and ideas of hill town people have been broadened and tempered by war. Always reflective to a certain extent, rural people in the hill towns are apparently a little more thoughtful now. The letters from sons in the armed services who are exposed to danger and battle in all parts of the world, the sharing of these letters, the realization of possible enemy attack and disaster, taking part in activities to defend and protect themselves, going without some farm and home items, war news and discussions of the day, labor shortages and hard work, travel restrictions, reflections on the post-war problems and the need for lasting peace, and many other conditions and sacrifices of war, have led some local people to wider acquaintance, to a more cooperative spirit, to a little more generous appreciation of other people in the community and throughout the world, and of the things we are fighting for. But on the surface there are the annoyances and gripes of wartime, and the ill-feelings and indifference or friendliness and friendly doings of life as usual.

Thus, 3 years of war have had some effect upon these rural hill town communities--it has affected the population, the economy; the extent of contacts, local organizations, attitudes, and the community as a whole. The effect with the greatest implication for the future is the decline in population numbers, especially of youth and young people. But all these effects and changes have, on the whole, been of small extent. Individuals, families, and organizations have made adjustments to the times, as they have been doing for many years, and in outward appearance life in the hill towns goes on almost as usual.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE - THE HILL TOWNS IN PROCESS

The New England hill towns are not at any crossroads, nor have they ever been. Instead, they have been on the long zigzagging trail of history ever since their settlement before the Revolutionary War, and today World War II is another of the many factors of change which have been playing upon them during the last 200 years.

But through the years the hill towns have always had a certain stability--in the ways of making a living, in attitudes, family patterns, and community life.

Will the hill towns remain stable in the years ahead? What implications lie in the effects of World War II? What changes are appearing on the horizon? What may help to make hill town communities even

more enduring, and more livable? The outlook is only briefly touched on here with reference to two principal aspects--the population, and the economy and community.

Population

The hill towns studied have steadily lost population for more than a century, and between 1915 and 1920 it sharply declined 24 percent, apparently through the loss of people--to urban areas and to armed forces during World War I--who did not return to the hill towns to live. During later years--up to 1940--the population was virtually stable at the new low (table 6).

Table 6. -- Total population of the five hill towns studied, 1790-1940 ^{1/}

Year	:Chester-: : field	:Cumming-: : ton	:Goshen: :	:Plain-: :field	:Worthing-: : ton	:Total
1790	: 1183	: 873	: 681	: 458	: 1116	: 4311
1800	: 1323	: 985	: 724	: 797	: 1223	: 5052
1810	: 1408	: 1009	: 652	: 977	: 1391	: 5437
1820	: 1447	: 1060	: 632	: 936	: 1276	: 5351
1830	: 1416	: 1261	: 617	: 984	: 1179	: 5457
1840	: 1132	: 1237	: 556	: 910	: 1197	: 5032
1850	: 1014	: 1172	: 512	: 814	: 1134	: 4646
1855	: 950	: 1004	: 471	: 652	: 1112	: 4189
1860	: 897	: 1085	: 439	: 639	: 1041	: 4101
1865	: 801	: 980	: 411	: 579	: 925	: 3696
1870	: 811	: 1037	: 368	: 521	: 860	: 3597
1875	: 746	: 916	: 349	: 481	: 818	: 3310
1880	: 769	: 881	: 327	: 457	: 758	: 3192
1885	: 698	: 805	: 336	: 453	: 763	: 3055
1890	: 608	: 787	: 297	: 435	: 714	: 2841
1895	: 589	: 750	: 304	: 450	: 648	: 2741
1900	: 611	: 748	: 316	: 404	: 675	: 2754
1905	: 563	: 740	: 277	: 382	: 614	: 2576
1910	: 536	: 637	: 279	: 406	: 569	: 2427
1915	: 559	: 660	: 289	: 375	: 618	: 2501
1920	: 441	: 489	: 224	: 332	: 409	: 1895
1925	: 445	: 508	: 251	: 282	: 429	: 1915
1930	: 420	: 531	: 248	: 306	: 485	: 1990
1935	: 445	: 610	: 257	: 332	: 530	: 2174
1940	: 422	: 608	: 249	: 264	: 471	: 2002
1945 ^{2/}	: 390 ^{3/}	: 530	: 278	: 220 ^{3/}	: 405 ^{3/}	: 1823

^{1/} Massachusetts Census, 1895; Massachusetts Decennial Census, 1925 and 1935; United States Census 1790-1940. (Compiled by Ruth Sherburne, Department of Economics, Massachusetts State College, Amherst.)

^{2/} From 1945 Massachusetts Census, or estimated. Includes servicemen.

^{3/} Estimated.

Since then, during World War II, the population again sharply declined about 16 to 18 percent to the lowest it has ever been. Will it again stabilize at this new low? This is a possibility, for always more young people have moved out of the hill towns than stayed in them. Probably two-thirds of those who have left during World War II would have emigrated anyway, and only a very few of the small percentage of families who left for war work elsewhere are expected back.

Thus apparently if these estimates hold true and the population follows the course it did after World War I, the hill towns during the next 25 years will have a relatively stable population of about 85 percent of what it was just before the war.

But trends may develop to offset this possibility. Much depends on the post-war level of general economic conditions throughout the country, and how they affect local industry, farms, and employment in surrounding cities. The hill towns might share a slight drift of city families toward the country to live there while depending on nearby work for cash income, and a considerable number of hometown returned veterans and war workers may also follow this course. More summer people may decide to live permanently in the hill towns. Furthermore, the prosperity in cities which encouraged an extremely high rural-urban migration 1920-30 may not follow World War II. But the population of the hill towns can hardly be expected to exceed that of 1940 for some years to come. On the other hand, if such trends do develop to some degree, the population of the hill towns might eventually approach or exceed that of 1940.

Economy and Community

Interrelated with population trends are local economic and community conditions. During the last century changes have occurred in the hill towns in response to major forces of the times. Some people adjusted by moving away, others by changing types of farming, and still others by catering to the expanding summer trade, engaging in nonfarm enterprises locally, or working in surrounding cities.

On the community side, Methodist and Baptist churches disappeared years ago leaving at present only one church in each community-- Congregational; country school houses were abandoned and schooling has centralized in the center village; automobiles have allowed people to be less dependent upon the neighborhood and community for sociability and services; towns now cooperate in the hiring of a school superintendent; State and federal aids of several kinds now help towns to make up for inefficiency or an inability to provide the higher standards of public services now demanded; the composition of the population has changed through the years by births and deaths and as people moved in and out.

But basically the hill towns have remained stable. Both farms and nonfarm enterprises have generally remained centered around the family and are of family size. The traditional values and attitudes of the hill-town New England Yankee have continued to be controlling factors of thought and action. Local government, church, family ties, and traditional values are still the cohesive bonds of common interest which integrate the community. Local or community attachments still hinge around the township.

But trends have been underway during the last decade or two which have been slowly affecting the solidarity, and these may become more noticeable in post-war years. The population is becoming more mixed as new people with different backgrounds move in, and as social contacts and marriage take place between people over wider areas. Key families are being gradually broken up by these factors and by death of the older members; this affects leadership, property holdings, and status alignments which derive from family ties. Farming and living like that of the past is becoming more hazardous. The number of places being bought or built by summer people is slowly increasing. The influence of traditional customs will lessen especially among the young people. Decreasing population and increasing demands for public welfare are making it more difficult for traditional town government to operate efficiently, as well as church, school, and local organizations. Some of these trends have been accelerated by the war. Some are tending to weaken the bonds which have integrated or unified hill town communities for many years.

The changes and trends of the times present a challenge to local people, and the nonlocal agencies which serve them, to work out those improvements in family economy, town affairs, and community living which will make hill town communities of the future even more enduring, and more livable.

Some suggestions and possibilities for the future are here indicated.

(1) Increased efficiency in farm management and marketing appears to be essential to the maintenance of present commercial farming in the hill towns.

(2) More suitable use of cleared and uncleared lands by farmers and towns. The elimination of scattered settlements would reduce the costs to town governments of maintaining roads and other services for scattered families, and reduce their social isolation.

(3) Greater dependence might be placed on good part-time farming in combination with employment in surrounding cities or other sources of income locally, especially by new families settling on the land, rather than expansion of full-time commercial farming.

(4) More use could be made of cooperative methods as a means to more efficient market and purchasing, owning breeding stock and equipment, and working together.

(5) Opportunities that lie in summer and winter recreation trade could be further developed.

(6) Greater cooperation between churches of different towns might be desirable, perhaps by developing a larger parish or in other ways working together for more effective service to local communities. Already the people in these towns cooperate informally in the Pomona Grange, Legion, Sunday School conferences, employment of school superintendent and school nurse, the Cummington fair, and other events.

(7) In the future towns may also decide to work together more in the performance of certain governmental or public functions, such as those which have to do with schools, roads, health, fire control, or construction of a public park.

(8) Development of coordination and cooperation within towns themselves might well take place, perhaps by the formation of a community council civic improvement association made up of representatives from different local organizations and institutions. This is essential to effective handling of community-wide activities either locally or nonlocally initiated. Apparently an early development would be desirable for in the immediate post-war years there will undoubtedly be many problems and conditions of community-wide concern.

It appears that some such improvements as these are necessary, if the small hill towns are to attract an increasing population as well as hold their own young people, and if they are to survive as effective governmental units and as integrated or unified communities. And through the years the hill towns will likely continue to be faced with new trends and new demands.

All this challenges local people as families and as towns to greater self analysis, appraisal of changes, and positive action. It presents opportunities as well. To meet both of these will require initiative, leadership, and cooperation within and between towns in the post-war years. With these, the future of hill town communities seems bright.